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ABSTRACT

Higher education for blacks in the United States is reviewed with attention to historical developments, college desegregation, and the role of philanthropic organizations. Two early, private universities in the North that were designed to provide higher learning for blacks were Lincoln University in Pennsylvania (1854) and Wilberforce University in Ohio (1856). Although the evidence shows that educational opportunity was available, it was generally not baccalaureate education as it is known today; some blacks were trained through apprenticeships and for teaching. Prior to the Civil War, it was illegal to teach blacks. A chart of 39 historically black four-year institutions founded between 1865 and 1880 provides founding dates and information on location, support/control, and regional accreditation. Similar information is provided on 28 historically black colleges (HBCs) founded between 1881 and 1896, as well as 15 HBCs founded between 1897 and 1953. Contradictions and traditions of the courts and the American higher education system regarding segregation are also addressed. Finally, consideration is given to funds provided for education, including those established to aid black public higher education, and funds to advance education and support equal educational opportunity in the South. (SW)

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TITLE

Higher Education for Black Americans: History and Development

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Background

It all began in 1619, when the seeds of American Slavery were planted, but some of its aftermath has continued through Civil War, Reconstruction, Morrill Acts, Plessy vs. Ferguson, Brown vs. Topeka, 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Adams Case.[1] Examples of each issue is treated in this section and under the following headings, Historical Development, Desegregating Higher Education, and Philanthropic Organizations.

Efforts to tell the story of Black America raised questions from inception about acculturation into the American Society and to some extent, continues today. Hence, it is not difficult to understand this plight, considering he was debased, stripped of his ancestral culture, language, religion and transplanted to a strange land (America), where he was systematically denied education, human treatment and rights. C. Erick Lincoln (black scholar and graduate of Lemoyne College and Fisk University) writing in the Summer 1971 Daedlus states:

> The Negro college born of the turmoil of a war which made black men free with an imperfect freedom, established in a social environment hostile to its presence and committed to its destruction, the Negro college has survived to become one of the singular assets of the Black community and a unique valuable, contributing component in the educational complex of America. More than that, it is an instrument of freedom. Black freedom. The vision of men and women who founded this institution which is a vital aspect of the black heritage, the wise and often sacrifical leadership which nurtured its infancy and guided its development...2

Vivian W. Henderson (black male, former president of Clark College) writing in the same journal states it in a different way:

> For most of their existence or <u>from origin</u> (italics mine) Negro colleges have served higher education within the context of a social structure built upon concepts of racial dualism, segregation, white supremacy and racial inferiority of black people. <u>Some of the private colleges may not have been founded on the above</u> concepts. They, <u>in part</u>, were founded on the hope of former slaves becoming full members of the American society or <u>dream</u>

> (italics mine). State-supported colleges were founded on the principle that the state was obliged to support something for Negroes which it also supported for whites, but with the understanding that whatever it supported for Negroes would be inferior to that which it...3

Another example of Black higher education, as viewed in the American Mind, is observed in the following conversation between Dr. James Cheek, President of Howard University and a high official in the Atomic Energy Commission, a Ph.D. in nuclear physics, (Atomic Energy Commission name was changed by the Energy Reorganization Act of 1974) to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.[4] In 1971 when Dr. Cheek was returning from Denver, where he was an official delegate to the White House Conference on Youth, the official said:

> I understand the great debate that is taking place at Howard now is whether Howard is going to become an excellent institution, or remain a predominantly Black institution. 5

The incompatibility or non-acculturation theme of Blacks into the American society is observed most keenly in education. Consequently it comes as no great surprise that Black Colleges and Universities would suffer from the same conditions.

Perhaps the impact of the above statements are best understood by examining the "peculiar institution."[6] American Slavery, a century of segregation and discrimination which followed. But inspite of these conditions, one can easily discern a profound sense of loyalty to this country among Black Americans. Therefore, it is especially important that the historical background is understood, because it helps one to appreciate the enourmously great contributions of Black Colleges and Universities.

Historical Development

According to some educational historians, higher education for American Blacks began two-hundred plus years after the founding of Harvard College. (1636).[7] The dates, for example, usually identified are (1854) Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and (1856) Wilberforce University in Ohio are the first colleges.[8] Both of which were prviate, in the North and had as their original purpose higher learning for Blacks. Lincoln University, however, is now under the auspices of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania System of Higher Education and Wilberforce is under the Africian Methodist Episcopal Church and has been since 1863.[9] Although there is evidence that educational opportunity was available, it was generally not baccalaureate as we know it today. For example, some Black Americans were trained through apprenticeships and for teaching. But, it is most unlikely that teacher training for Blacks then, was a very structured and formalized course of Pedagogy. In addition to the limited number of Blacks who obtained degrees from American Colleges,[10] the most notable examples were Edward Jones and John Russwurm of Amherst and Bowdoin respectively, others did however, distinguish themselves intellectually. Such examples as Benjamin Banneker, a noted mathematician and astronomer, Phyllis Wheatly, a great eighteenth century poet, John Chavis and Charles L. Reason were teachers, to name a few. Additionally, in 1858 Myrtilla Minor built a school house for the higher education of Negro (Black) girls in Washington, D.C.[11]

Aside from these institutions, higher education (private or public) did not begin to grow and develop until after the Civil War. Prior to this time, especially in the South, it was against the law to teach Blacks. For example, in 1863 West Virginia was the first southern state to make "a separate but equal" provision in its constitution for educating Blacks. Some evidence even after the Civil War, indicate that efforts to educate Blacks were met with

strong opposition. But in spite of these circumstances there were systematic plans to organize a program of education for freedmen (public school levels).

Between 1865-1880 a total of 40[12] institutions were founded, of these 29 were private (see table 1) and 11 were public (see table 2) (tax supported). Several factors contributed to the slow development of Public Institutions. First, there was the traditional attitude of the South toward educating Blacks. Second, there was opposition from those who wanted to keep Blacks in a subservient status. Third, coupled with the above harsh conditions, was an insufficient tax base to support educating large numbers of former slaves. However during this same period a number of significant developments paved the way for changes in the lives of emancipated slaves. The first was the Freedmen's Bureau (1865-1972) which provided the key organization, protection and financial support to philanthropic efforts, freedmen and the states.[13] Thereby helping to lay the crucial grourdwork for founding institutions of higher learning.

A second development was ratification of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments. which gave citizenship to former slaves and other Black persons. According to Patricia Harris (black female, HEW Secretary in Carter's Administration) Black Colleges owed their existence to the exlusionary practices of white institutions (North and South) as well as to the failure of states to provide primary and secondary institutions to prepare blacks for admission to a small number of white institutions of higher learning.[14] The third development was the inestimable contributions that philanthropy (discussed later) and church groups made to establishing Colleges and Universities for Black Americans.

Some of the groups providing aid to education were, The Friends Associations for Aid to Freedmen, the Board of Freedmen's Missions of the United Presbyterian Church, the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, American Baptist Home Mission Society, American Church Institute of the

Table 1. Historically Private or Church Related Negro (Black) Four-year Colleges and Universities Founded Between 1865 - 1880

Location	Institution	* Year of Founding	Support/ * Control	Regional ** Accreditation
1. Selma, Alabama	[1]Selma University	1878	MBC	not given
2. Tuscaloosa, Alabama	Stillman College	1876	Presb. U.S	yes/SA
3. Talladega, Alabama	Talladega College	1867	AMA-Ind.	yes/SA
4. Little Rock, Arkansas	Philander Smith College	1877	Methodist	yes/NCA
5. District of Columbia	Howard University	1867	Independent	yes/NSA
6. Atlanta, Georgia	Atlanta University	1865	Independent	yes/SA
7. Atlanta, Georgia	Clark College	1869	Methodist	yes/SA
8. Atlanta, Georgia	Morehouse College	1867	Independent	yes/SA
9. Louisville, Kentucky	Simmons University	1879	NBC	Southern Association of Bible Institutes
10. New Orleans, Louisiana	Dillard University	1868	Independent	yes/SA
11. Holly Springs, Mississippi	Rust College	1866	Methodist	yes/SA
12. Tougalloo, MS	Tougaloo College	1869	AMA & UCMS	yes/SA
13. Concord, NC	Barber-Scotia College	1867	Presbyterian	member/SA
14. Greensboro, NC	Bennett College	1873	Methodist	yes/SA
15. Charlotte, NC	Johnson C. Smith University	1867	Presbyterian	yes/SA
16. Salisbury, NC	Livingstone College	1879	AMEZ	yes/SA
17. Raleigh, NC	St. Augustine's College	1867	Protestant Episcopal	yes/SA

Table 1. Continued

Location	Institution	* Year of Founding	Support/ * Control	Regional ** Accreditation
18. Raleigh, NC	Shaw University	1865	ABC	yes/SA
19. Columbia, SC	Allen University	1870	AME	candidate
20. Columbia, SC	Benedict College	1870	ABC	yes/SA
21. Orangeburg, SC	Claflin College	1869	Methodist	yes/SA
22. Nashville, TN	Fisk University	1866	Independent	yes/SA
23. Knoxville, TN	Knoxville College	1875	United Presbyterian	yes/SA
24. Memphis, TN	LeMoyne-Owen College	1870	AMA & Baptist	yes/SA
25. Austin, TX	Huston-Tillotson College	1877	Methodist and United Church of Christ	yes/SA
26. Waco, TX	Paul Quinn College	1872	AME	yes/SA
27. Marshall, TX	Wiley College	1873	Methodist	yes/SA
28. Hampton, VA	Hampton Institute	1868	Independent	yes/SA
29. Richmond, VA	Virginia Union University	1865	ABC	yes/SA

*Unless indicated otherwise founding dates, support/control were taken from Bowles and DeCosta, Between Two Worlds: A Profile of Negro Higher Education.

**Unless indicated otherwise accreditation status of each institution was taken from the 1983 College Blue Book.

*CME=Christian Methodist Episcopal; SDA=Seventh Day Advents; MBC=methodist; Presbyterian US=Presbyterian; AMA-Ind=American Missionary Association-Independent; NBC Northern Baptist Convention; AME=African Methodist Episcopal; ABC=Baptist; RC=Roman Catholic; UCMS=United Church; AMEZ=African Methodist Episcopal Zion;SBC=State Baptist Convention; AMA=American Missionary Association.

**MSA=Middle States Association; NCA=North Central Association; S=State; SA=Southern Association.

1=offers Associate degree; 2=Land Grant College(s)

Historically Public Negro (Black) Four-year Colleges
and Universities Founded Between 1865 - 1880

Table 2.

Location	Institution	*Year of Founding	Support/ *Control	Regional **Accreditation
1. Normal, AL	[2]Alabama A & M	1875	State	yes/SA
2. Montgomery, AL	Alabama State College	1873	State	yes/SA
3. Pine Bluff, AR	[2]Arkansas Agri., Mech. & Normal College	1873	State	yes/NCA
4. Baton Rouge, LA	[2]Southern U. and A & M College	1880	State	yes/SA
5. Bowie, MD	Bowie State College	1867	State	yes/MSA
6. Baltimore, MD	Morgan State College	1867	State	yes/MSA
7. Lorman, MS	[2]Alcorn A & M College	1871	State	yes/SA
8. Jackson, MS	Jackson State College	1877	State	yes/SA
9. Jefferson, MD	[2]Lincoln University	1866	State	yes/NCA
10. Fayetteville, NC	Fayetteville State College	1867	State	yes/SA
11. Prairie View, TX	[2]Prairie View A & M College	1876	State	yes/SA

[2]Land-Grant Colleges, information taken from, "The Origin and Development of the Negro Public College With Especial Reference To the Land-Grant College," The Journal of Negro Education, (Summer, 1962), pp. 245-46

Episcopal Church. The church groups and organization of the Freedmen's Bureau were not without certain and unusual personalities, who perhaps provided critical impetus and leadership. For example, such men as, General Oliver Otis Howard, (Commissioner, Freedmen's Bureau), Levi Coffin, (abolitionist from North Carolina), Salmon P. Chase (US Senator from Ohio), Henry Ward Beecher, (abolitionist from Connecticut), John M. Walden, (journalist and Methodist Bishop), Richard S. Rust, (advocate of education for Negroes), Mathais W. Baldwin, (manufacturer of locomotives/philanthropist), Edward T. Atkinson, (economist/industrialist), and William Claflin (Republican governor of Massachusetts, shoe manufacturer) played key roles in the movement.

Between 1865 and 1880 some of the most widely known institutions of today were established by church groups and the Freedmen's Bureau. For example, Atlanta University (1865), Fisk University (1866) were founded by the American Missionary Association (AMA). Morehouse College (1867) originally founded as the Augusta Institute, Virginia Union University (1865), Shaw University (1865) and Benedict College (1870) were founded and supported by the American Baptist Home Mission Society. Other church groups, such as the Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterians were also responsible for establishing institutions. These two church groups established such institutions as Rust College (1867), Morgan College, (originally Centenary Biblical Institute), which today is Morgan State University and a member of the state of Maryland System of Higher Education. The Presbyterians founded the following three institutions, Barber-Scotia College, (1867) originally Scotia Seminary and Biddle University that same year, now known as Johnson C. Smith University (both in North Carolina), Stillman College (1867) in Alabama and Howard University (1867) founded by the Freedman's Bureau, Washington DC. Although, schools of higher learning for Blacks were founded by other religious groups, e.g., African Methodist Episcopal (AME) and Christian Methodist Episcopal (CME), they were not founded until the 1870's (see Table 1).

Another important development in higher education was the Morrill Act of 1862 (Federal Legislation). This act provided federal aid to education by granting land for states to create and maintain colleges of agriculture and the mechanical arts. States were to actually sell land granted by the 1862 act and use proceeds to establish A & M Colleges. There is no question but this was the most significant single piece of federal legislation affecting public higher education in the ninteeth century. However, it contributed little to higher learning for Black Americans. It was not until the Morrill Act of 1890 or the Second Morrill Act (as it is known in some circles) which made possible the establishment of land grant colleges for Blacks in the South and border states. In fact, it was the federal government's first effort of assuring land grant funds for education where the "separate but equal" concept existed. Unfortunately, this act strengthened the above concept to the extent that seventeen Southern states maintained colleges which became known as the Negro (Black) Land-Grant colleges.[15] While these institutions were not like the great state institutions developed in the Midwest or the West, e.g. Universities of Wisconsin, Michigan and California, they along with the private colleges provided an immeasurable opportunity for millions of ex-slaves.

The second greatest period of growth in the development of historically Black Colleges (HBC's) was 1881-1896. During this period for example, twenty six additional colleges and universities were founded, fourteen less than were founded between 1865-1880. Of the total number (28) fourteen were private (see Table 3) and an equal number were public institutions (see Table 4). Perhaps Tuskegee Institute (1881), Morris Brown (1881), Spelman College (1881), and Bishop (1881) are the most widely known private colleges founded during this time. Of the public institutions founded during the same period, Florida A & M University (1887) popularly known as (FAMU), North Carolina A & T State (1891),

Table 3. Historically Private or Church Related Negro (Black) Four-year Colleges and Universities Founded Between 1881 - 1896

Location	Institution	* Year of Founding	Support/ * Control	Regional ** Accreditation
1. Tuskegee, AL	Tuskegee Institute	1881	Independent	yes/SA
2. Little Rock, AR	Arkansas Baptist College	1884	NBC	not given
3. North Little Rock, AR	[1]Shorter College	1886	AME	yes/NCA
4. Jacksonville, FL	Edward Waters	1886	AME	not given
5. [%]Miami, FL	Florida Memorial College	1892	ABC	yes/SA
6. Atlanta, GA	Morris Brown College	1881	AME	yes/SA
7. Augusta, GA	Paine College	1883	Meth. & CME	yes/SA
8. Atlanta, GA	Spelman College	1881	AME	yes/SA
9. Jackson, TN	Lane College	1882	CME	yes/SA
10. Dallas, TX	Bishop College	1881	ABC	yes/SA
11. Tyler, TX	Texas College	1894	CME	yes/SA
12. Lawrenceville, VA	St. Paul's College	1888	Prot. Episc.	yes
13. Lynchburg, VA	Va. Seminary and College	1888	Baptist	
14. Winston-Salem, NC	[3]Winston-Salem Teacher's College	1892	Independent	yes/SA

[1]Offers Associate degree.

[%]Moved to Miami in 1968.

[3]Became part of the University System of the state in 1971.

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Table 4. Historically Public Negro (Black) Four-year Colleges and Universities Founded Between 1881 - 1896

Location	Institution	*Year of Founding	Support/ *Control	Regional **Accreditation
1. Dover, Delaware	[2]Delaware State College	1891	State	yes/MSA
2. Tallahasee, Florida	[2]Florida A & M University	1887	State	yes/SA
3. Fort Valley, Georgia	[2]Fort Valley State College	1895	State	yes/SA
4. Savannah, Georgia	[2]Savannah State College	1890	State	yes/SA
5. Frankfort, Kentucky	[2]Kentucky State College	1886	State	yes/SA
6. Princess Anne, MD	[2,3]Maryland State College	1886	State	yes/MSA
7. Greensboro, NC	[2]North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University	1891	State	yes/SA
8. Elizabeth, NC	Elizabeth City State College	1891	State	yes/SA
9. Wilberforce, Ohio	Central State University	1887	State	yes/MSA
10. Langston, OK	[2]Langston University	1897	State	yes/NCA
11. Orangeburg, SC	[2]South Carolina State College	1895	State	yes/SA
12. Petersburg, VA	[2]Virginia State College	1882	State	yes/SA
13. Bluefield, W. Virginia	Bluefield State College	1895	State	yes/NCA
14. Institute, W. Virginia	[2]West Virginia State College	1891	State	yes/MSA

[2]Land-Grant College information taken from "The Origin and Development of the Negro Public College With Especial Reference to the Land-Grant College," The Journal of Negro Education, (Summer, 1962), pp. 245-46

[3]Became part of the University system of the state in 1970.

Virginia State (1892) and West Virginia State (1891) are perhaps the most widely known.

From 1897 to 1953 the least number of historically Black institutions of higher learning were founded compared to the previous periods of 1865-1880 and 1881-1896. For example, between the period 1897-1953 a total of 15 institutions were established, 7 private (see Table 5) and/or church related and 8 public (see table 6). Of the public institutions, perhaps Grambling State College is the most widely known. Of all the church related institutions (for Blacks) founded earlier, I believe this is the first time we note a Roman Catholic College, Xavier University (1925), New Orleans. It is also important to observe that church groups and private agencies were directly or indirectly responsible for establishing the majority, (61%) of all Black colleges and universities founded between 1865-1953. The states were not as ambitious in their efforts to establish public institutions, though education is a state matter, even with the help of (federal legislation) Morrill Act of 1862. As stated earlier, several conditions contributed to America's lack of committment to higher education for Blacks. First, the Black masses were located in the South, were not citizens (chattel) and had no rights. Consequently, the Southern white population felt little or no moral, social or legal obligation to educate them. And even when there was support for higher education, its provision was under the doctrine of "separate-but-equal." Such conditions, it could be safety argued, continued for well over a century.

Remember also, before the Civil War, the South made no provisions to educate Black Americans and the North was not much better, although several attempts were made to establish institutions in the North. For example, at the First Annual Convention of People of Color in 1831, the Convention voted to establish a College in New Haven, Connecticut, but the townspeople resisted. Undaunted,

Table 5. Historically Private or Church Related Negro (Black) Four-year Colleges and Universities Founded Between 1897 - 1953

Location	Institution	*Year of Founding	Support/ *Control	Regional **Accreditation
1. Birmingham, AL	Miles College	1903	CME	yes/SA
2. Daytona Beach, FL	Bethune-Cookman College	1904	Methodist	yes/SA
3. New Orleans, LA	Xavier University	1925	Roman Catholic	yes/SA
4. Holly Springs, MS	Mississippi Industrial College	1905	CME	yes/SA
5. Sumter, SC	Morris College	1905	SBC	yes/SA
6. Denmark, SC	Voorhees College	1897	Protestant Episcopal	yes/SA
7. Hawkins, TX	Jarvis Christian College	1912	Disciples of Christ	yes/SA

Table 6.

Historically Public Negro (Black) Four-year Colleges and Universities Founded Between 1897 - 1953

Location	Institution	*Year of Founding	*Control	Regional **Accreditation
1. Albany, GA	Albany State College	1903	State	yes/SA
2. Grambling, LA	Grambling College	1901	State	yes/SA
3. Baltimore, MD	Coppin State College	1900	State	yes/MSA
4. Itta Bena, MS	Mississippi Valley State Coll.	1950	State	yes/SA
5. Durham, NC	North Carolina College at Durham	1909	State	yes/SA
6. Langston, OK	Langston College	1897	State	yes/NCA
7. Nashville, TN	[2]Tennessee A & I University	1909	State	yes/SA
8. Houston, TX	Texas Southern University	1947	State	yes/SA

it is reported that another attempt was made in Canaan, New Hampshire, to no avail, the building was destroyed in 1835. According to Bowles and DeCosta, a wealthy Quaker of Philadelphia willed $10,000. for the education of Blacks, but action was deferred until 1839, at which time land was purchased in Philadelphia County and a school established where boys learned farming and shoemaking. This school eventually became the Institute for Colored Youth after going through several stages of development. Between 1850-1852 a building was erected in Philadelphia becoming the Institute for Colored Youth. The institution prepared advanced pupils of both sexes for vocations of teaching and preaching. Additionally, the school offered classical courses and prepared teachers and principals for schools in Philadelphia and the South, until 1889. In 1902 it was re-organized and moved to Cheyney, Pennsylvania where it went through the following stages, Cheyney Training Schools for Teachers (1914); Cheyney State Normal School (1920); a degree granting state college (1932); Cheyney State Teachers College (1951); and Cheyney State College (1959).[16] In addition to Lincoln (1854) and Wilberforce (1856) Myrtilla Minor (1851) already mentioned, Avery College in Pennsylvania (1849) was established before the Civil War.

Second, while a limited number of Blacks did obtain some education, it was not because the North encouraged admission to their institutions. Except for Oberlin College, Berea College, Franklin and Rutland Colleges[17] a very few colleges admitted Blacks on a continuous basis. Amherst and Bowdlin, as stated earlier, graduated the first Black Americans in 1826, but did not graduate any additional Negroes (Blacks) prior to the Civil War.[18] What is more significant to note is that Harvard College did not graduate its first Black (Richard Greener)[19,20] until 1870, over two centuries after it was founded.

According to DuBoise,[21] only twenty-eight (28) Blacks were awarded baccalaureate degrees from American colleges and universities prior to the Civil War. There were however, accounts of Blacks obtaining higher education abroad. Men such as Francis L. Cardoza, James McCune Smith and Robert B. Elliott obtained their higher education in Europe. Cardoza studied at the University of Glasgow, Scotland, Edinburgh and London. Upon his return to America he served in many capacities; first as minister of a Congregational Church in New Haven, Connecticut. Second, he was founder and principal of Avery Normal institute in Charleston, South Carolina until 1868, following which he was elected Secretary of the same state. He also served as professor of Latin at Howard University and principal of the Colored High School of Washington D.C., which bears the name (Cardoza High School now). James McCune Smith studied abroad and was the first Negro professional graduate, receiving medical training at the University of Glasgow. Upon completion of his medical training in 1837 at the University, he studied clinics in Paris, France before returning to New York to establish the practice of medicine.[22] Robert B. Elliott, studied high school and college abroad. He attended the High Holborn Academy in London and was admitted to Eaton College. After which, he studied law under a member of the London bar, following this experience he returned to South Carolina, serving as Congressman from South Carolina from 1873-1875.[23]

Let's return to what life was like in the South. Remember, the status of Blacks in this section of America was one of slave, ex-slave. Of his ex-slave status constitutional amendment was required before he was considered a citizen, but as we see later, the amendments did not guarantee his rights to education or freedom. Except for North Carolina and Kentucky the Southern states still did not have a system of public education. Subsequently, church related and or private organizations had the major responsibility for educating Blacks.

However, there were instances during Reconstruction (1865-1877) of Blacks receiving higher learning from historically white Southern colleges and universities. Two such examples are, T. McCants Stewart and Richard T. Greener. Stewart received his A.B. and LL.B degrees from the University of South Carolina in 1875. Richard Greener, the first Black to be graduated from Harvard College, was awarded a Bachelor of Law in 1876 from the same university.[24] But after the Southern states were returned to the original governments, Blacks were again denied admission to historically white colleges and universities. In fact, not only were they denied admission, it became illegal for them to attend these institutions.

Perhaps the mood of the South and North regarding Blacks, can be characterized in the cases of Robert vs. City of Boston (1849)[25] and Plessy vs. Ferguson (1896).[26] Roberts vs. City of Boston was a racial discrimination case in a Northern City, but it illustrates the prevailing attitudes toward educating Blacks. Essentially, the issues focused on a Negro girl who tried to enter an all white school in Boston. The city ordinance of course stipulated segregation of white and negro students. Although the state legislature in 1855 passed a law prohibiting segregation in public schools, the precedent was set and the damage done. The second case, Plessy vs. Ferguson was a racial segregation controversy involving the state of Louisiana, in which the United States Supreme Court rendered a decision. Homer Plessy,[27] (a mulatto) person of mixed parentage, charged that a Louisiana Statute requiring segregation in public transportation violated rights granted by the 13th and 14th Amendments of the US Constitution. The Court ruled in favor of Louisiana, establishing the legal status of Blacks from the 1890's until 1954. It also declared for the first time, as law, the doctrine of "separate but equal" and remained as the legal guidepost for sixty years.[28] Consequently, the enactment of state laws,

supported and approved by Federal Courts, meant higher learning was provided mainly by the historically Black institutions of the South. Further support for the above statement is observed by the number of Blacks (from 1865-1895) graduating from Northern institutions of higher learning. It is reported by DuBoise and Dull[29] that during this thirty year period only 194 Negroes graduated from colleges in the North. Furthermore, of these, 75 graduated from one Oberlin College, with the remainder distributed among 52 other Northern colleges.

Desegregating Higher Education

Desegregating public higher education has been a long arduous process, begining with the inception of freed slaves and continuing into 1984. However, for purposes of this section let's consider the periods of 1862, 1890, Morrill Acts, 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas, the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Adams Case. In so doing we are able to see the contradictions and traditions of our Courts and the system of American Higher Education regarding segregation.

As indicated earlier, the Morrill Act of 1862 provided federal aid to states to create and maintain colleges of agriculture and the mechanical arts, but the states had reasons which prevented and or denied HBC's from sharing the benefits, though the Act may not have explicitly barred Blacks from sharing the benefits. Ironically, according to Rufus Atwood, three Southern states,[30] (Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia) had designated land-grant colleges for Blacks prior to 1890, but none received funds from the First Morrill Act of 1862. Kentucky was the fourth state to establish a land-grant college for Blacks in 1893, but state legislatures did not accept the terms for Black land-grant colleges until the Second Morrill Act.

An example is Tennessee, it was more than six years after the First-Morrill Act was approved before the state legislature accepted terms for establishing a

land-grant college for Blacks. According to Samuel Shannon:

> An analysis of Black's relationship to such policies and practices, beginning with implementation of the First Morrill Act and concluding with the formative years of Tennessee State University reveals a sharp breach in the democratic promise so identified with the land-grant movement. 31

In 1890 the Second Morrill Act provided for participation of HBC's in the benefits of Land-Grant designated colleges. For example, state colleges that used color or race as a prerequisite for admission would be denied funds. Additionally, states that maintained separate land grant-colleges for Blacks and Whites were required to disperse funds on an equitable basis.[32] Although this second Act may have ushered in a new era of higher education for Blacks, it still maintained vestiges of discriminatory influences discussed earlier. For example, the Federal law continued to support segregation as an acceptable way of life, as seen in the amendment of 1890:

> That in any state in which there has been one college established in pursuance of the act of July second, eighteen hundred sixty two, and also in which an educational institution of like character has been established, and is now aided by such state from its own revenue, for the education of colored students in agriculture and the mechanic arts, however names or styled, or whether or not it has received money heretofore under the act to which this act is an amendement, the legislature of such state may propose and report to the Secretary of the Interior a just and equitable division of the fund to be received under his act between one college for white students and one institution for colored students established as aforesaid, which shall be divided into two parts and paid accordingly, and thereupon such institution for colored students shall be entitled to the benefits of this act and subject to its provisions, as much as it would have been if it had been included under the act of eighteen hundred and sixty two, and the fulfillment of the foregoing provisions shall be taken as a compliance with the provision in reference to separate colleges for white and colored students. 33

However great the 1890 proviso was thought to be, one can easily observe contradictions and support for the social customs and traditions of that day.

Even the language of the proviso condoned separate institutions in such statements as: for white and colored students, division of funds and compliance with the law.[34] The proviso does not contain statements such as: proportionate to distribution and equal funding based on the number of the white and colored population in any given state or territory. In the state of South Carolina, for example, where Blacks outnumbered whites, the U.S. Congress passed a special law limiting the division of an equal split.[35] Based on the above Congressional Law, it is easy to understand why the proviso contained words like just and equitable. It was a well known fact that these words did not have the same meaning for Blacks and Whites. Hence, it can be safely argued that the Second Morrill Act left real power within the States, thereby affording them a free hand to continue practicing traditional customs and mores.

As you may recall, in the infamous case of Plessy vs. Ferguson (1896) the United States Supreme Court ruled in favor of Louisiana, not Plessy; thereby establishing as law, status of Blacks and support for the doctrine of "separate but equal." This decision had far-reaching consequences on public accommodations of any kind, including higher education for approximately sixty years.

However, in the 1954 Brown vs. the Board of Education in Topeka, Kansas, the United States Supreme Court held the doctrine of "separate but equal" had no place in education. Furthermore, the Court ruled that separate but equal conditions was an offense to the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. This was a landmark decision by the Supreme Court, though principally directed at public elementary and secondary school systems. However, it did affect educational policies and practices of institutions of higher education, as we shall see in several cases brought to the courts after the 1954 decision. But in the meantime, let's review some examples of court cases which attest to the fact that the Plessy decision established a legal

precedent which lasted for approximately sixty years.

First, prior to the landmark decision in Brown, there were cases brought against a number of public (state) institutions that denied admission of Blacks. For example, in the case of Missouri ex rel. Gaines vs. Canada:[36] Gaines, the plaintiff (Black) applied for admission to the University of Missouri Law School. He was denied on the basis of state policy against joint attendance of Black and white students at the same university within the state. Mr. Gaines was advised that he could apply for assistance to attend law school outside of Missouri, advice on attending law school elsewhere was based on state law; the language of which follows:

> May arrange for attendance at University of any adjacent state tuition fees. Pending the full development of the Lincoln University, the board of curators shall have the authority to arrange for attendance of Negro residents of the state of Missouri at the university of an adjacent state to take any course or to study any subjects provided for at the State University of Missouri, and which are not taught at the Lincoln University and to pay the reasonable tuition fees for such attendance; provided that whenever the board of curators deem it advisable they shall have the power to open any necessary school or department. Revised Statutes of Missouri (1929), Mo. St. Ann. 9622. 37

A similar example is the case of Sipuel vs. Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma,[38] in which the plaintiff applied for admission to the University Oklahoma Law School. The plaintiff was denied admission to the Law School because of skin color. A third example is the case of Sweatt vs. Painter:[39] Sweatt, a Black plaintiff applied for admission to the Law School at the University of Texas but was denied on the basis of race. Rather than permit Sweatt to enroll in the University of Texas Law School, the state opened the Texas State University for Negroes (now Texas Southern University).

Fourth, in the case of McLaurin vs. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education:[40] McLaurin, (Black) applied for admission to the University of Oklahoma for graduate studies that would lead to a doctorate in education, not law. He was admitted, but was not permitted to use the same library, cafeteria and attend class with students of other races. Since McLaurin was treated differently, the Court argued that the conditions under which he was receiving his education deprived him of equal protection of the law.

In 1954 the United States Supreme Court completely reversed the viability of the "separate but equal" doctrine. In doing so the Court essentially moved away from a long standing posture which had its origin in the 1896 Case (Plessy vs. Ferguson). In the decision of Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, the Court ruled on the question of the constitutionality of segregation. Such action had not occurred in the previous cases mentioned earlier. And while it is widely accepted that the May 17, 1954 decision had the greatest social and ideological significance in the history of the Supreme Court, nonetheless, the only persons directly bound by the Brown decision were the five school boards, (Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware and the District of Columbia)[41] involved in the suit. Ironically, though this was an epoch-making decision, only laws specifically held unconstitutional were those involved in the above cases, which were assumed and interpreted by others to mean that full compliance was on a voluntary basis. Perhaps the most noteworthy example of a public school system not desegregating, was Prince Edward Virginia.[42] In fact, Prince Edward, faced with the order to desegregate closed its public schools. integration, even with the famous Brown decision, did not become an immediate reality for Black Americans. But, for the first time since the Fourteenth Amendment (1868) the principle of equal protection of the law perhaps was brought more into focus. But as we see in the ensuing years, desegregation in higher education continued

to be an issue for the courts. Public school and higher education cases including resistance to desegregation in Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee and Virginia (long after the 1954 decision) were argued in federal courts. For example, in the case of Lee vs. Macon County Board of Education:[43] the plaintiffs argued that the Governor of Alabama, Secretary and Executive Officer of the Alabama State Board of Education and individual members, used their authority to operate a dual system of education based on race. In the case of Sanders vs. Ellington,[44] the plaintiffs brought an action challenging the University of Tennessee's (white institution) plans to construct a new facility to expand programs at the Nashville Center where Tennessee A & I University (Black institution) is located in relative proximity (see Journal of Law and Education, January, 1982 for detail). In yet another case, Norris vs. State Council of Higher Education,[45] the plaintiffs asserted that the state of Virginia continued to maintain a racially identifiable dual system of higher education. This case grew out of the attempt of Richard Bland (white two-year college) to become a four-year institution when its neighbor Virginia State (Black) was already a four-year institution. Court cases regarding desegregation continued into the 1970's. Even though the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was considered the most far reaching legislation since Reconstruction, and:

> contained new provisions to help guarantee Blacks the right to vote and access to public accommodations such as hotels, motels, restaurants; authorized the federal government to sue to desegregate public facilities and schools; extended life of Civil Rights Commission and gave it new powers; provided for cut-off of federal funds where programs administered discriminatorily; required most companies and labor unions to grant equal employment opportunity; established Community Relations Service in Department of Justice to help solve rights problems; required Census Bureau to gather voting statistics by race; and authorized justice department to enter into a pending civil rights case. 46

Ten years after the Brown decision, the 1964 Civil Rights Act was passed by the United States Congress. An Act with clear language which provided additional strength for speeding the desegregation of higher education. Specifically, section 601 of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act states:

> No person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance. 47

However, five years later, the Department of Health Education and Welfare (HEW), currently Health and Human Services, notified the following ten states: (Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania and Virginia) that their systems were in violation of the Civil Rights Act, i.e. segregated on the basis of race. Based on the language of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, federal funds to these institutions should have been suspended. But by 1973 only five of the ten institutions had even responded. Such continued lack of action by HEW, eventually led to lawsuits being filed by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. In 1970 the Legal Defense and Education Fund filed a lawsuit against HEW, in what is known as the Adams Case:[48] asking the court to require the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to enforce Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This lawsuit included the same ten states mentioned earlier and the Adams plaintiffs filed a later motion for further relief. Their motion was based on HEW's acceptance of inadequate state desegregation plans of June, 1974,[49] the states, though in violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, continued to receive federal funds. However, the District Court did require HEW to develop uniform desegregation criteria that would consider the importance of Black Colleges and comply with the 1964 Civil Rights Act concurrently.

In spite of court mandate to HEW, (Department of Education as of May 1980) that plans be developed, the Adams plaintiffs had to file another motion in 1980 for further relief, in the following states:

> Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylavania, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia. 50

As recently as the Fall of 1983, state desegregation plans were still being approved in Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Virginia and Georgia.[51] Of these states, Georgia, as recently as April, 1984 did not have an acceptable plan. And in North Carolina, only the Community College System needed a desegregation plan, the four year college and university plan was approved in 1981.[52]

Consequently, thirty years after the Brown decision and twenty years after the greatest Civil Rights Legislation in the history of America, integration of higher education has a ways yet to go. It is hoped, nonetheless, that state desegregation plans will ultimately conform to the 1964 Act, and full integration will become the American norm. Meanwhile, no study or review of higher education for Black Americans can be discussed without consideration for the contributions of church groups and philanthropic organizations. Church groups were treated in some detail, earlier in the paper, thus, it is now appropriate to discuss philanthropic organizations.

Philanthropic Organizations

As was indicated earlier, public education and historically Black colleges (HBC's) were, in addition to church organizations, assisted by philanthropic organizations. Begining in 1867, George F. Peabody, established the Peabody Education Fund,[53] the first set up to provide general aid to education in southern and southwestern states. The funds were devoted principally to establishing permanent public school systems for both races. While most of the funds were

given to white schools, Black schools and colleges did benefit indirectly. When the Peabody Education Fund was discontinued in 1914, it left $350,000 for the John F. Slater Fund to be used specifically for Black education.

The next fund was established in 1882 by John F. Slater and was called the John F. Slater Fund.[54] This fund was begun with one million specifically to aid Black public and higher education. Over a fifty year period (1882-1932) it is reported that approximately two million were given to forty-eight mostly Black colleges. These funds were used for improving the quality of Black teachers by raising salaries or (scholarships) training. For example, it was a Slater Fellowship for Graduate Study Abroad which enabled W.E.B. DuBoise to pursue two years of doctoral study at the University of Berlin. The Slater Fund, for the first thirty years focused on improving the quality of teachers in historically Black colleges, private as well as denominational. However, as a result of Booker T. Washington's influence, industrial and vocational programs were funded. Consequently, Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes received very large grants until about 1906.[55] The Slater Fund assisted colleges until 1911, at which time it began to assist with the founding and development of county training schools for Blacks. Interest in county schools increased to such a level that between 1929 and 1931 only about 25 to 30 percent of its appropriations were dedicated to colleges.

Effective in 1937, the Peabody Fund (1867), the Slater Fund (1882), the Negro Rural School Fund (1907), formerly the Anna T. Jones Foundation and the Randolph Fund, later merged into the Southern Education Foundation, Inc.[56] whose main function and purpose was to advance education and support equal educational opportunity for Blacks in Southern states.

The second permanent fund set up exclusively for Black education was the Fund for Colored People, established in 1888 by Daniel Hand.[57] This fund, consisting of over one million was administered by the American Missionary Association

(AMA) to help the association in the field of Black education, namely colleges.

In 1903,[58] the General Education Board was founded by John D. Rockefeller to aid Black education generally. Before 1903, Black colleges had received aid from the Rockfeller family who at this point offered one million to an organization that would aid education without regard to race, religion or sex. The General Board had many objectives, e.g., building and equipping schools, aid to colleges, universities, teacher-training programs and established several Black University Centers in Atlanta, Nashville, New Orleans and the nation's capitol. The Board also provided aid for teacher's salaries at private Black colleges, scholarship grants for advance study and aid to Meharry and Howard University Medical Schools. During a thirty year period 1902-1932, over 32 million was awarded to Black colleges and schools.[59] According to Bowles and DeCosta,[60] up to 1964, the Board made the largest direct contribution to (HBC's) and Black education totaling 63 million, before it discontinued its active program in 1956.

The Phelps-Stokes Fund was established in 1911[61] according to the will of Caroline Phelps Stokes. Among its purposes was the improvement of education for Blacks, both in Africa and the United States. It is interesting to note that this is the oldest existing foundation which from inception emphasized service to Black Americans and Africans. While the Fund earlier-on contributed about thirty percent of its resources to Black colleges, and schools, that was not its most significant contribution. The greatest contribution to Black education was its participation in the first two surveys of Negro education, sponsored by the U.S. Bureau of Education. These surveys are given the credit for providing impetus for raising standards in Black colleges. Which in turn, were responsible for changing the image of paternalism through the acquisition of Black leadership and influence. In addition to providing Black colleges with

explicit recommendations for improvement the surveys brought broader recognition and accreditation too. It is also believed that the survey findings were responsible for the approval of Black colleges by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools.[62]

In 1917 the Julius Rosenwald Fund was established with an estimated forty million. The Fund was set up after he had donated money to help improve southern rural schools and high schools for Blacks. The purpose of this Fund was similar to the aforementioned funds, in that it provided aid for buildings, equipment, current expenses and materials for libraries. The Fund also gave aid to Black college faculty engaged in advanced studies at the master's and doctoral levels. Additionally, it awarded fellowships to those who showed great potential, irrespective of race. The Julius Rosenwald Fund dissolved its business in 1948 after expending more than 22 million on education, health and medical services, fellowships and race relations intended to improve conditions among Black Americans.[63]

In 1943 Dr. F.D. Patterson, then president of Tuskegee Institute wrote an article for the Pittsburgh Courier in which he stated the plight of Black Colleges:

> Private colleges for Negroes (Black) have carried the brunt of our American educational effort for the better part of this experience. They yet educate, to the extent of their means, nearly 50 percent of those who receive college training...These Negro, Black, institutions may well take a cue from the general program of organization which seems to involve most charitable efforts today. Various and sundry drives (financial) are being unified with a reduction in overhead for publicity and in behalf of a more purposeful and pointed approach to the giving public. 64

His article, along with a series of conferences with Presidents of other Black Colleges; (The Julius Rosenwald Fund and the General Education Board) helped to lay the ground work for the United Negro College Fund (UNCF). Thus,

on April 15, 1944, the United Negro College Fund was chartered in the state of New York. It is very important to note, this was the first time in the history of American education that private educational institutions of higher learning had joined in cooperative fund raising. Therefore, it can be said that one of the significant contributions of UNCF is the financing of higher education. Since 1944, many joint educational organizations, whose objective is fund raising, have been established (see the Encyclopedia of Associations and the Foundations Directory). In 1944, there were twenty-seven[65] charter members, today there are forty-two, with Morris College of Sumter, South Carolina being the most recent member. Membership then, as now, is restricted to privately supported Black colleges, most of which are church related. These colleges agreed to delegate fund raising responsibility for current purposes, e.g., teacher salaries, library materials, scholarships, equipment, etc., to UNCF. Money for building would continue to be raised by the individual institutions, a responsibility which eventually shifted to UNCF (as we see later).

In the spring of 1944, the first UNCF annual campaign was begun with Walter Hoving serving as chairman. This campaign was enormously successful, appealing to individuals, foundations, alumnae and corportations for a total of $765,000.[66] In fact, this amount was approximately three times the efforts of individual colleges during the previous year. As a direct result of the 1944 campaign it was learned that:[67]

1) Individuals would support a group of colleges, destroying the myth that people would only support an individual college.
2) Alumnae, though loyal to their Alma Mater, would work for and support higher education for Black Americans.
3) American business would contribute to the support of higher education.

These answers were significant in that they suggested another means by which Black Colleges and Universities, specifically, and higher education in general, could be financed. The credit for this far reaching and important break-through in financing higher education goes to the United Negro College Fund, from which Black colleges and universities have received millions and millions of dollars since its inception. For example, in the 1981 and 1982 campaigns alone, over forty million dollars were raised.[68]

As stated earlier, the United Negro College Fund had as its primary responsibility the raising of funds for current operations and individual institutions would be responsible for building and endowment funds. However, by 1950 it was obvious that individual member colleges were not able, or at least were not successful in raising capital funds. Consequently, UNCF was asked to assume responsibility for organizing a campaign for building funds. This venture was headed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. along with other prominent businessmen; by 1954 had raised eighteen million dollars.[69]

Again, in 1963, member colleges asked UNCF to organize another drive, this time the funds would be used for expanding the physical plants. The projected aim was to raise fifty million dollars, thirty of which would be raised jointly by the Fund and twenty million by individual member institutions. This growing need to strengthen private Black institutions was discussed with President Kennedy, who lent strong support and persuaded Charles Mortimer of General Food to lead the campaign. The Ford Foundation provided a challenge grant of fifteen million dollars and by mid 1964 the first thirty million had been raised.[70] The individual member colleges eventually raised an estimated ten million, and in two capital campaigns UNCF had raised forty-eight million dollars. It is significant to note that in its third capital (conducted between 1977-1980) UNCF raised over sixty (60) million dollars.[71] In addition to helping UNCF Colleges to

build and improve construction, capital funds also enable these institutions to participate in the College Endowment Funding Plan, hereafter referred to as CEFP, which is a unique project designed by Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, founder of UNCF. CEFP Helps to build endowments at member colleges by investing funds loaned by insurance companies at below market rates with gift funds raised by UNCF member institutions and Capital Resources Development Programs (CRDP) funds provided by UNCF. As a matter of fact, CEFP has invested approximately twenty-five million dollars in bonds, which in twenty five years, (when investments mature and loans are repaid) the nineteen participating UNCF colleges will have added $98 million to their endowments and operating incomes.[72]

In addition to annual fund campaigns and intermittent capital drives (without which many Black colleges and universities could not have survived) UNCF provides other invaluable services to these institutions. For example, UNCF monitors legislation and governmental affairs at the national level for member institutions. It also helped formulate legislation that permits Title III Funds to be used (though a federal matching fund program) for building endowments at financially hard pressed (HBC's). The Fund was also one of many non-profit organizations that testified in Congress against an increase in non-profit postal rates, and it supported legislation that allows citizens who do not itemize their tax returns to make charitable deductions. It was UNCF that suggested that a mini-competition (to the U.S. Office of Education) be held among (HBC's) which resulted in over eight million dollars in grants at the end of 1982.[73] Special projects, such as the Career Advancement Institute (funded by the U.S. Department of Labor) made it possible for over one hundred educators, researchers and students to attend the Conference on Current Research in Career Advancement: The Position of Black Americans. UNCF created the Career Advancement Institute for the purpose of increasing the quantity and quality of career advancement and mobility research on Black youth. It also wanted to encourge Blacks interested

in research as well as Black institutions to participate in this research. Some of the topics researched thus far, are career expectations and aspirations of youth, the impact of public policy on career mobility, approaches taken by educational institutions to career development, and development of a profile of Black workers in various occupations.[74]

UNCF has expanded its basic purpose of fund raising to include Institutional Services, Research and Education Services. Institutional Services for example, involve improving member colleges in areas common to all, sharing the colleges experience, research, innovations and personnel. In the area of Research Services, UNCF provides background studies and position papers which serve as the central foci for all forty-two (42) member institutions.[75]Some examples of this research, are the series of papers on "The Financial Problems of Private Colleges," "A Directory of Black Colleges and Universities," "A Survey of Voluntary Support of UNCF Institutions," "Annual Reports" and the "UNCF Statistical Reports." In the area of Education Services, UNCF seeks to help improve the quality of programs at member institutions. Some examples of Education Services, are, student recruitment sessions, faculty fellowship program and a scholarship program. The recruitment sessions have permitted UNCF to conduct combined information and admissions counseling. Through the fellowship and scholarship programs, UNCF has been able to strengthen the quality of faculty by awarding doctoral fellowships, i.e., Charles A. Dana Faculty Improvement Fund, IBM, the Lilly Endowment, Inc. and many others. As for student scholarships, UNCF provides financial assistance through the 21st Century Scholars Program for academically superior undergraduates and graduating seniors. The 21st Century Scholars Program is new as of 1982; made possible by Ambassador Walter H. Annenberg.[76]

FOOTNOTES

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